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[755] Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain [777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

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[117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

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In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

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[118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmān [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jibril moving his wings (Andjra).

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[119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa], tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be [782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

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783 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.
- 821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlôh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.
- 821 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams,
789 "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.
- 821 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the
787 Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.
- 821 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur
789 [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

- 821 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah
 789 itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).
- 821 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum;
 789 Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran
 778 or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur. itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
 [753] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
 [754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
 272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

764 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
 296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

764 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
 262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
 432 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I
 689 was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
 704 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
 [83] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
 821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

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by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

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[258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasor, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).

[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

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[262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive
787 (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a
821 time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

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rites and beliefs connected with agriculture

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat, (1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifraf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad
bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amfi; and
giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing)
that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the
jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing).
during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he
should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should
steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in
the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal
during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any
indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger
(with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.³⁸ If he should point
his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10
mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
692 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal
(fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

312 in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another
571 order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be
[613] the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of
[596] irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is
begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at
other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of
312 turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns
571 of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of
425 land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or
[432] 600 duros (1939). 124
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312 The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting
[821] of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or noc-
turnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are
made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these,
downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of
312 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns
571 was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by
805 measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object,
in other words, a true sun dial.

312 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration,
[627] valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental
[628] intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.
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312 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the con-
184 formity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their
representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on
the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system
or traditions of irrigation.

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All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors.

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Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions.

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Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

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C) Organization:

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The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')¹⁸³ or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

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Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who

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killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

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435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

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821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.

[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

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seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

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The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.